645 came to the end of his term in 1942, but due to the war, instead of being released, was sent to a concentration camp from where he was freed in 1945. 2. Neither Moscow-trained Communist, nor Nazi. 3. Not a Soviet citizen. 4. Has a political black-book. 5. Worked in 1945 in the organization section of the Communist Party. Became party secretary to the Central Committee in 1949, became member of the political committee in 1951 and appointed Deputy-Chairman of the Presidium. Home-trained, extremely cultured Communist, one of the most brilliant careers in the Communist Party. Rákosi's confident, speaks German, Hungarian and Russian."

467 KRISTOF, ISTVAN. Chairman of the Hungarian Trade Union Association. Party bureaucrat of Jewish descent. Member of the Central Committee. Acceeded to his present post in 1953.

[redacted], JÓZSEF. Deputy-Prime-Minister. Former Chairman of the Metal Workers Association and the Trade Union Association. Young rising Communist, he was appointed to the Political Committee in 1955.

693 [redacted], ERIK. President of the Highest Court. Born in 1894. "1. Of middle class origin, Christian, has a lawyer's degree, was member of the Trotskij-wing illegal party; later broke away from the Communists, but was generally known as extreme leftist. Wrote several

693 books and studies on political economy, was in Hungary during the war. Became a non-party minister of Public Welfare on December 23, 1944 under the Provisional Debrecen Government, joined the Communist Party in 1945. 2. Neither Moscow-trained Communist, nor Nasi. 3. Not a Soviet citizen. 4. Has no black-book. 5. Does not play a leading role in the Communist Party. Exchanged his post of minister of Public Welfare for that of ambassador to Moscow in 1948. Became professor at the Budapest University in 1949; his book entitled "History of Hungarian society from the Árpád-epoch to Mohács" (Xth - XVth centuries) was strongly criticised by the party. Very well educated, speaks Russian, English, German, French and Hungarian, member of the Central Committee of the party." Former Minister of Justice.

643 NAGY, IMRE. Born in 1896. "Comes from a family of merchants, Jew, was graduated from high school. Took part in the revolution of 1919, emigrated to the Soviet Union, where he was trained in agrarian politics; returned to Hungary in 1945." A Moscow-trained Communist and Soviet citizen. Has no black-book, and is well versed in Marxism. Was Minister of Agriculture in 1945, and carried out the agrarian reform; Minister of the Interior in 1946, for a while university professor and Speaker of the National Assembly, then Minister of Food.

Article 41.

1) The Courts of the Hungarian People's Republic punish the enemies of the working people, protect and safeguard the state, the social and economic order and the institutions of the people's democracy and the rights of the workers and educate the working people in the observance of the rules governing the life of a socialist commonwealth. 642* 692 681

2) Judges are independent and subject only to the law.

SECTION SEVEN

The Public Prosecutor.

Article 42.

1) The function of the Chief Public Prosecutor of the Hungarian People's Republic is to watch over the observance of the law. 642* 693

2) In the exercise of this function the Chief Public Prosecutor supervises the observance of the law by the ministries, the authorities, offices, institutions and other organs, by the local organs of the state executive and by citizens.

3) The Chief Public Prosecutor sees to it that all actions detrimental to, or endangering, the social order, security or independence of the Hungarian People's Republic be consistently prosecuted.

Article 43.

1) The Chief Public Prosecutor of the Hungarian People's Republic is elected by Parliament for a period of six years. Parliament has the right to recall the Chief Public Prosecutor before the expiration of his term of office.

2) The Chief Public Prosecutor is responsible and accountable to Parliament in respect of his official activities.

3) Public prosecutors are appointed by the Chief Public Prosecutor.

4) The machinery of the prosecution of offenders is under the general direction of the Chief Public Prosecutor's office.

Article 44.

642
693 Public prosecutors proceed independently of the central and local administrative and executive organs of the state.

SECTION EIGHT

The Rights and Duties of Citizens.

Article 45.

642
641 1) The Hungarian People's Republic guarantees for its citizens the right to work and the right to remuneration in accordance with the quantity and quality of the work done.

2) This right is implemented by the Hungarian People's Republic by means of the planned development of the forces of production and by a manpower policy based on economic planning.

Article 46.

642
466 1) The Hungarian People's Republic ensures the right of rest and recreation for its citizens.

2) This right is implemented by the Hungarian People's Republic by means of a legally determined working day, holidays with pay and the organization of the rest and recreation of the workers.

Article 47.

642
745 1) The Hungarian People's Republic protects the health of the workers and assists them in the event of sickness or disability.

2) The Hungarian People's Republic implements this protection and assistance by means of a comprehensive social insurance scheme and the organization of medical services.

Article 48.

647
571 1) The Hungarian People's Republic ensures the right to education for every worker.

2) The Hungarian People's Republic implements this right by means of an extension to all of educational facilities, by means of a free and compulsory general schooling scheme, by the provision of secondary and higher schools, by educational facilities for adult workers and by financial aid to those receiving schooling of any kind.

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
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say everything that has been dearest to the core of his heart during all his life. 793 687

The Cardinal was tried in the company of men deemed to have been his accomplices in a great conspiracy against the government. All pleaded guilty. Witnesses to the trial beheld a spectacle oddly reminiscent of the Reichstag Fire trials in Berlin during 1933, with the sinister difference that then even Göring could not intimidate the Court. Béla Fabian has pointed out the curious fact that those who conducted the trial of the Cardinal were former Nazis. The President, Dr. Vilmos Olti, had served the Hungarian Hitlerites even as he now served the Communists; and the leader of the prison interrogators, Dr. Martin Bodonyi, had worked for Nazi military tribunals under another name. The defense counsel assigned to the case had, however, been a member of the Communist Party since the days of Béla Kun. 793 687 695 [633]

Questions and answers succeeded each other much as they must have in the fearful prison. On the morning of February 8, 1949, the verdict was read:

"Joseph Mindszenty, the first accused, is sentenced herewith . . . to the cumulative penalty of penal servitude for life as the main penalty, to ten years' loss of office and ten years' suspension of political rights; further, the confiscation of all his property as supplementary punishment."

The charges against the Cardinal were circulated prior to the trial itself in an official *Yellow Book*, and the government subsequently issued a *Black Book* giving its version of the proceedings. The more carefully one reads these volumes, the greater one's astonishment is likely to be. We may discount in advance all the allegations which are known to have no foundation in fact. What is to be said of those which are probably true? A relatively minor charge is that certain sums of money obtained from abroad for Church purposes were not trans-

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793 have voted in favor of a Restoration are, to be sure, matters
696 one could debate at length. But that discussion has no bearing
687 on the issue that the Cardinal had conspired to plunge the nation into civil war and thus impose a solution by force.

A number of able jurists of varied confessional and political points of view have carefully reviewed the trial procedures. There is none of repute in the free world who has not held that the trial was a farcical travesty of justice.*

793 And so the Cardinal, indefatigable leader of his Church
687 and of his people, entered through a narrow gate of infamy and pain the desert of penitential tribute to the power of iniquity. The ancient secret, that of the *mysterium iniquitatis*, the mystery of evil, was his to meditate upon even as hermits and martyrs, sages and great sufferers, the wise and the humble since the dawn of time had pondered it in times past. No doubt all he had to uproot from his heart were some vestiges of pride in his natural abilities and in his holy office—the pride he had sloughed off, surely, in the bitter days when he may well have asked the question which was on the lips of his Master, why God had forsaken him, and why he had been so grievously scourged for the sins of his time. They had humiliated him far beyond any boundaries which are set for humility to traverse. They had proved that theirs were the battalions and the torturers, the makers of decrees and the profiteers of power. The Archbishop of Esztergom, Prince of the Church and member of the Regent's Council, had become

[693] * The trial of the Cardinal was directed by László Rajk, Minister of the Interior, who during September, 1949, was accused not only of having attempted to overthrow the Hungarian government and assassinate its principal officials but of espionage in behalf of the governments of the United States, Great Britain, and Yugoslavia. In short, Rajk was on trial for emulating Marshal Tito. Seven others were indicted as his accomplices. All were placed in confinement for some time previous to the convening of the Court. Testimony was introduced purporting to prove association with divers representatives of foreign powers. Nearly all of these have vehemently denied the allegations. Three death sentences were handed down and carried out. One victim was Rajk himself.